

A N
ESSAY
UPON THE
GOVERNMENT
O F
The *English* Plantations
O N
The Continent
O F
AMERICA.

Together with some Remarks upon
the Discourse on the Plantation Trade,
Written by the Author of the Essay on
Ways and Means, and Published in the
Second Part of His Discourses, on the
Publick Revenues and on the Trade of
England.

By an *AMERICAN.*

LONDON, Printed for Richard Parker
at the Unicorn, under the Piazza of the
Royal Exchange. 1701.

ESSAY

UPON THE
GOVERNMENT

The English Plantations

The Committee

AMERICA



Together with some Remarks upon
the Principles of the English Trade
Written by the Author of the Essay on
Ways and Means, and published in the
second Part of the Tracts on the
Publick Revenue and on the Trade of
Great Britain.

By the Author of the Essay on Ways and Means.

LONDON: Printed for J. DODD, in Pall-mall, 1755.

S I R,

I Herewith send you a Transcript of that imperfect Essay upon the Government of the *English* Plantations on the Continent of *America*, which I shewed you when you were in these parts, and which you laid so many obligations on me to let you have.

It was at first designed for private view only, and accordingly it was drawn for that purpose, as you may easily perceive by many Passages in it, neither is it (in my Opinion) at all fit for the Publick; but since you have desired it so earnestly, I give it up intirely to you, to be disposed of according to your Discretion, only I must enjoin you to conceal my Name, that I may not of necessity be engaged in a Pen and Ink War three Thousand Miles from home.

A 2

In

The Preface.

In pursuance of your request, I have (as carefully as my time and health would permit) once more perused the Discourse on the Plantation Trade, written by the Author of the Essay on Ways and Means; and I am still of the same Opinion that I told you; I take that Gentleman to be a Man of good Parts; but in this Discourse, I think he hath gone beyond his Province, for it appears pretty plain to me, that he went on blindfold, having an intire dependance upon the knowledge and integrity of those from whom he received his Informations; this I am obliged to believe, for certainly a Person of that Authors Abilities could never have written so incoherently and inconsistently upon a Subject that himself had any knowledge of.

I shall not trouble you with a particular Examination of every Paragraph of that Discourse; but I shall apply my self to the consideration of the most general of his Notions and the Principles he proceeds upon, and if the Foundation appears to be deceitful, I suppose the Superstructure will fall of course; but

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but in the first place, it will be necessary to observe to you how very irregular, that Discourse is, and how incoherent the several Parts of it are one with another.

In some Places, he tells the World the great advantage of New-England, *p. 225.*
Mary-Land, Pensilvania, Carolina, &c. *226, 230,*
Furnishing the Southern Colonies with *231.*
Provisions, which he confesses may be had from England and Ireland, but not so cheap.

In another Place, he says, *It cannot p. 232.*
be for the Publick good of a Kingdom to furnish Colonies out of it, with People, when the Product of such Colonies is the same with the Kingdoms, and so Rivals the Kingdom both in its Navigation and in its Product, at the Market where such Product is vended; neither can it be the Interest of a Country to suffer its People to make settlements of several Plantations that yeild one and the same Commodity.

In another place, he is for having *p. 233.*
some method proposed of Collecting within a narrower Compass, the scattered Inhabitants

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tants of the Continent, by inviting some to cultivate the Islands, where their labour is certainly most profitable to England, and by drawing the rest if possible to four or five of the Provinces, best situated and most Productive of Commodities not to be had in Europe.

p. 244.

245, 250.

251, 283.

284.

In other Places, he argues very strongly for the Proprieties and Charter Governments being restored to the several forms of Government, by which they were first encouraged at their great Expence, &c. to discover, cultivate and plant remote places, &c. and since they have a worse Soil to improve (than the other Colonies) He is for having them recompenced in Property and Dominion.

p. 236.

In another place, he finds fault that the Servants bred up (in Virginia) only to Planting, are forced into other Colonies, where their Labour is not so profitable either to the Crown, or People of England, as it would be in a Province not producing Commodities that are of English growth.

Now Sir, please to lay these several Parts of that Discourse together and observe

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observe the strength of the Arguments.

You may perceive throughout his whole Discourse that he is a great Friend to the *Proprieties* and *Charter-Governments*, and often pleads for their having great Liberties and Encouragements; and for that purpose his Arguments are very convincing.

It is not the Interest of any Kingdom to furnish Colonies out of it with People, when the Product of such Colonies is the same with the Kingdoms. p. 232.

But the Product of the Colonies of New England, Mary Land, Pensilvania, Carolina, &c. (being Proprieties) are the same with the Product of the Mother Kingdom of England. p. 225. 231.

Ergo, those Colonies should be encouraged.

Again, It cannot be the interest of a Countrey to suffer its People to make settlements of several Plantations that yield one and the same Commodity.

The Product of these Colonies is Provisions of several sorts, and the Colonies can sell cheapest.

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The our
Author
speaks of
Mary-
Land, as
furnishing
the Islands
with great
quantities
of Provi-
sions, he is
very much
mistaken,
for 'tis not
so.
P. 233.

But New England, Rhode Island, New York, the Jerseys, Pensilvania, Carolina (and according to our Author Maryland) yield one and the same Commodity. Ergo, all those Colonies are to be encouraged.

Once more let us try our Logick.

Those Provinces are to be encouraged, that are most Productive of Commodities not to be had in Europe.

p. 233.
236.

But the Islands, Virginia, and Mary Land, are most Productive of Commodities not to be had in Europe.

Ergo, New England, Pensilvania, Carolina, &c. are to be encouraged (because their Product is the same with that of England.)

Is not this an excellent way of arguing? But it is very difficult, even for so Ingenious a Gentleman as this Author, to engage in a bad cause, and not to be sometimes detected of false reasoning: He seems to doat upon the Proprieties, but he cannot find one

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one good Argument to use on their behalf.

All his long Cant of the *temperance*, p. 227.
sobriety, and *seeming Vertuous living* of 229, 230,
the Dissenters in the Northern Colonies, 247.
is nothing to the purpose; and if it
were, it is not true; I could give
convincing Proofs of the contrary.
but I can't think it worth my while.

And all that he urges in fa-
vour of the Proprieties, because of
their furnishing the *Islands* with Pro-
visions, when they cannot have it
from *Europe*--will not much streng-
then his Arguments; for if it appears
that the supplying those *Islands* be for
the interest of *England*, the Tobacco
Plantations may be made sufficient
for that purpose, without diminishing
the quantity of Tobacco that is now
made.

All the Arguments that Gentle-
man uses to evince the Advantage of
the Plantations to *England*, I agree
with him in; nor do I condemn him
for his smart reflections, upon the
Evil Governours in these Parts, I am

The preface.

So far from it, that for the sakes of the Poor Old English Men that groan under the burthen, I could wish, I had a competent Portion of Gall, and knew where to find words sufficient, to give a lively Representation of the truth in those Cases; however, I doubt it may be a peice of ill service to deter every body from coming to the Plantations, and therefore I will not endeavour at it, but by the way I must observe to you, that the Governours of some Proprieties are as bad as the Kings Governours.

I come next to his Considerations, for a more safe and lasting settlement of the Colonies in America, which are as follows,

p. 232,
233.

First, without doubt, the negligence of former times has suffered a greater Number of Plantations upon the Continent, than do well consist with the Navigation and other Interests of the Mother-Country.

Secondly, it cannot be for the Publick good of a Kingdom, to furnish Colonies

out

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that of it with People, when the Product of such Colonies, is the same with the Kingdoms, and so Rivals the Kingdom, both in its Navigation, and its Product, at the Markets where such Product is vendid.

Thirdly, it can hardly be the Interest of a Country to suffer its People to make settlements of several Plantations that yield one and the same Commodity, for Inhabitants thus dispers'd, are neither so useful to each other in time of Peace, nor strong enough to defend themselves in time of War, so that their Mother-Kingdom is usually at a great Charge for their defence; whereas if they lay in a more compact and less extended Territory, they could be more ready to give each other mutual help, and not be exposed as they are, to every little Strength, and insult of an Invader.

Fourthly, as many Empires have been ruined by too much enlarging their Dominions, and by grasping at too great an Extent of Territory, so our Interest in America may decay, by aiming at more Provinces, and a greater Tract of Land

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Land, than we can either cultivate or defend: upon which account, it may perhaps be sometime or other worth the consideration of the State, whether a way might not be proposed of Collecting within narrower Compass, the scatter'd Inhabitants of the Continent, by inviting some to cultivate the Islands, where their Labour is certainly most profitable to this Kingdom, and by drawing the rest, if possible, to four or five of the Provinces best situate and most Productive of Commodities, not to be had in Europe; but this is to be done with great deliberation, with a due regard to property, by degrees, and by good Encouragement.

Fifthly, former times have not only been faulty in suffering too many Provinces to be erected, but in the Repartition of the Land taken in, there are Corruptions conniv'd at very prejudicial to the Plantation Trade, and to the Kings Customs from thence arising.

To all which I answer that, if all these Parts of the World, had been so intirely at the disposal of the English, that no other Nations dared
to

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to have settled here without their leave, then indeed it might have been more prudent to have settled only two or three Colonies on the Continent of *America* in such places as would best have suited the Interest of the Mother-Kingdom: But the Case was otherwise, for when the *English* were settled both to the Northward and Southward, we know the *Dutch* came and settled at *New York*, and would not leave their possession, till they were beaten from it; further North the *French* have settled themselves and become Masters of *Canada River*; and on the South the *Spaniards* press so hard upon us, that they did more than once attempt to hinder the *English* settling at *South-Carolina*.

These particular instances will not give us leave to doubt but that, if we had neglected seating any considerable part of the Continent, some other Nation would have stepped in, and taken possession of it, and would either have kept it, or perhaps have ventured a War with *England* for it.

We

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We have certain Information, that the *French* are now settling upon the Mouth of the River *Meschasse*, if so, and some speedy care be not taken, No one can (I think) foretel the fatal consequences that may follow to all the *English* Colonies on the Continent.

The two great Rivers of *Canada* and *Meschasse*, run a long way up into the Continent, one on the *North*, and the other on the *South* side of all the *English* Plantations, that on the *South* side extends it self far *North*, and that on the *North* side extends it self very far *South*, when it comes up within the Land, and from the Heads of these two Rivers without much difficulty may be had a Communication, with all those vast Lakes, that lye to the *Westward* of all the *English* Colonies, which will make the *French* Masters of a great and profitable Trade with the *Indians* living upon those Lakes; and in Case of another War with *France*, will give them great opportunities by themselves and the *Indians* in League with them, to destroy the Inhabitants on the *Western* Frontiers.

riers of all the *English* Colonies ;
therefore instead of Proposing to in-
vite the Inhabitants to leave any of
the Plantations on the Continent, I
should rather advise the establishing
a Company, with a joynt Stock of
about 15000*l.* or 20000*l.* *Sterl.* to
settle a Trade with the *Indians* be-
yond the Mountains, which Trade that
Company should have exclusive of all
others, for one and twenty years
next coming after their settlement ;
such a Company under a due regu-
lation and management, would gain a
Trade of considerable advantage to
the *English*, and would settle two or
three small Factories with about thirty
or forty Men each, to take possession
of the Lakes in behalf of the
English, which Trade and Settlements
would both disappoint the designs of
the *French* in their Trade, and keep
the *Indians* in Amity with the *Eng-
lish*, and by that means be a good
defence to the *Western* Frontiers of
our Colonies.

This Sir, I do assure you is no
Romantick Fiction, for I have made
inquiry into the true State of those
Affairs,

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Affairs, and am well informed, that we in *Virginia* lye many hundreds of Miles nearer to those *Indians*, than any of the *French* Settlements do, and consequently can furnish that Trade cheaper than any others; if the Duties upon the Exportation of Woollen out of *England* be not too heavy; for that is the Principal Commodity for such a Trade.

I must further observe to you, that I think it strange, the Gentleman should in this place find fault with there being so many Plantations upon the Continent of *America*, and propose the inviting them off into the *Islands*; when in another Chapter of the same Book he seems to be in great fear of the *French*, if they should possess themselves of the River *Meschasipe* and the Lakes to the *Westward*; and if I can guess any thing at his meaning, he is for having the *English*, get the first possession there; but take his own words, should the *French* settle at the *Disemboguing* of the River *Meschasipe*, in the *Gulph* of *Mexico*, they would not be long before they made themselves Masters of that rich Province,

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vince, which would be an Addition to their strength very terrible to Europe. But this would more particularly concern England: for by the opportunity of that Settlement, by erecting Forts along the several Lakes between that River and Canada, they may intercept all the Trade of our Northern Plantations.

And here again, I cannot but take notice that this Gentleman is very little acquainted with these Parts of the World, as appears by his saying, they may intercept all the Trade of our Northern Plantations, for our Plantations have no Trade with any body in those Parts, (except a little from New York, and that very uncertain, being already well near deprived of it by the French from Canada) what Trade we have, is with the Indians on this side the Mountains; and all the Lakes lye beyond them; but the danger is, that if the French make Settlements in those Parts, they may discover a Considerable new Trade, not yet enjoyed by any body, and thereby they (with the help of the Indians) will also be enabled to destroy the Inhabitants on the Western Frontiers

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Frontiers of all our Colonies upon the Continent; and against such Incursions from the *Indians*, we shall not be able to make any effectual defence, because of the vast Woods in those Parts, which we are little acquainted with, and they know very well; Therefore my Proposition in this matter is, that this new Trade may be discovered and enjoyed by the *English*, who lye more convenient for it, than the *French*, by which means also the Frontiers will be much better secured, than otherwise they can be.

p. 233.
234.

It is said, that in the Repartition of the Land, taken in, there are Corruptions connived at, very prejudicial to the Plantation Trade, and to the Kings Customs from thence arising; and he goes on to give an Example of this in *Virginia*, which seems to me to be the strangest Part of all the Story; if he had talked of the abuses that have been in *New England*, *Pennsylvania*, *Carolina* and the rest of the Proprieties, he had done something, but to fall upon *Virginia* at such an unmerciful rate as he has done, and to dwell

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dwell upon it for three or four pages together, and to pretend to tell matter of fact exactly, and yet to Misrepresent (or falsify if you please) every part of it, this Sir, if I were as angry with him, as I perceive he is with some People, would make me speak very hard words, but I will not quarrel with the Gentleman, because I believe it to be only a sin of Ignorance and too much Credulity. In the Essay which I send you herewith, p. . . . I have Answered most of what he says about *Virginia*, and therefore in this place, I shall only let you know, that whereas, p. 234. He says, *all the Land here is taken up, except what lyes at the utmost bounds of the Colony, the Seating upon which often furnishes matter for War with the Indians*; I have examined into the matter of fact, and I find that between the twenty seventh of *October*, 1697. (About which time this Gentleman writ his Book) and the tenth of *May*, 1700. There issued Patents under the Seal of the Colony of *Virginia*, for 157667. Acres of Land, several Parcels of which are in some of the Counties best Inhabited, and

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notwithstanding all this Gentleman alledges, 'tis very probable from many reasons, which I could give, that before the tenth of *November, 1701.* Patents will issue for 150000. Acres more, and not all to the Council and their favourites neither; as to the *furnishing matter for War with the Indians*, that is such a fiction, that I think no one of a duller Invention, than the *Northern Proprietor*, who I suppose gave this Gentleman his Instructions could have thought of it. There are no *Indians* now in being, that have pretensions to any Lands near us, except some few of our tributaries, who are always in perfect Friendship with, and Obedience to us, and when any Foreign *Indians* come into these Parts, are ready upon all occasions, to give us what help they can, which indeed is but very little, the most considerable Nation of them all not having fifty Men, and some of the others not above ten, and some sixteen or twenty, these tributaries are descended from the Nations, who Inhabited not only the Land we now live upon, but all for many Miles, beyond the utmost of our Settlements, and 'tis a
very

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very likely matter that they should be able, or have any occasion, to make War with us about those Lands.

I agree with the Gentleman in what he says, p. 232. that *it cannot be for the Publick good of a Kingdom to furnish Colonies out of it with People, when the Product of such Colonies, is the same with the Kingdoms, and so Rivals the Kingdom both in its Navigation, and in its Product, at the Markets where such Product is vended, and that it can hardly be the Interest of a Country to suffer its People to make Settlements of several Plantations that yeild one and the same Commodity*—And I desire the favour of him to reconcile these Passages, with those in p. 244. 245, 250, 251, 283, 284. where he talks of *letting the Northern Colonies (whose Product is the same with that of the Mother Kingdom England) find their Recompence in Property and Dominion; having Liberty to choose their own cheif Magistrates; having their Original Charters kept inviolable; and many more such like matters.*

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I would not be mistaken, as if I was an Enemy to Liberty, but since the Product of those *Northern* Properties is the same with that of *England*, (the Mother Kingdom) I would gladly be informed whether according to this Gentlemans own Principles, it is not more for the interest of *England*, that the Kingdom should appoint them Governours, who would take care that they duely observed the Acts of Trade; then that such Power and Dominion should be given them, as in time to make them grow prejudicial to the Interest of *England*, as most certainly they will, if some better care be not taken, than hath been formerly.

By taking better Care, I do not mean new fangled Contrivances and Orders of People, that know little or nothing of the matter, where perhaps a whole Society may be managed by one Man, that knows as little as any of them, only happens to have a little more Modest assurance than his Brethren: But the best way to manage Affairs at so great a distance from home, is to call in the advice and assistance

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assistance of Persons of known Abilities and Truth, and such as are acquainted with the true State and Circumstances of Places, Persons and things, and some who have been Eye-Witness, and have endeavoured to inform themselves in such matters, these are Men fit to be imployed on such occasions; not that I think every Man that hath been in the Plantations capable to do much Service;

for I know some at this day in London, that have lately been in Virginia some years, and others that have been born here, and yet neither one nor the other of them have so much knowledge or integrity as to give a true State of the Country; which makes it seem strange to me, that some Men

(by many People esteemed very knowing in Plantation Affairs) should take so much notice of them; but Interest and Revenge have strange Operation sometimes upon Gentlemen about Court.

I have lately seen some Proposals to the Commissioners of Trade, by a Gentleman who is thought by some, to know these Parts very well: wherein he pretends to argue the reasonableness of Seating the French Refugees in the Kings Colony of Virginia, rather than in a new Propriety in Lower Norfolk; whereas Norfolk is one of the Counties of Virginia; and (being but a very little one) is already well Seated by the English, under the Kings Government, without any dependance upon Proprietors.

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And here Sir, let me observe it to you once for all, that tho' we have many Acts of Parliament, Publick Orders, and Instructions for the Management of Trade and Plantations, and tho' these seem most of them to be drawn with a great deal of care and advice, yet there are so many defects and doubts and ambiguities in them, that it is almost impossible from them to draw any regular, practicable and effectual method for the Management of those Affairs; some things of no use and in themselves utterly impracticable, being enjoyned with the greatest rigour; and other things very necessary and easie never being so much as once required; from whence it happens, that in some places upon several occasions, without any manner of advantage or service, there is abundance of puzzle and hurry and confusion about no one knows what; and in other places where good care and application is really wanting, nothing at all is done; and yet perhaps neither of these People are guilty of the Breach of any Law now in being; from all which I conclude, that the
Planta-

The Preface.

Plantation Affairs are not so well understood as they ought to be.

The Propositions, p. 237. I purposely pass over, there being nothing material in them, but what I have already taken as much notice of as is necessary.

As to the Scheme of a Council of Trade proposed, p. 238. 239. I shall say nothing concerning it, only that I should be very glad to see such a free Council for those Affairs Established, as would answer the ends proposed.

The several Propositions made in p. 253. 254, 255. require not much to be said to them, the first would never have been put in that place, only I perceive the Author hath met with a Misrepresentation of a difference that happened some time since, between the Government of *Mary Land* and the Proprietor of *Pennsylvania*, and so he hath made an Article of Reformation of it. The rest of them, I shall not make any remarks upon; because some are not of any great use, and the others I do not find much amiss.

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I agree very heartily with what is said, p. 246. that it is prejudicial, that the Offices and Places of trust in the Colonies, should be granted by Patent to Persons in England, with liberty to execute such Employments by Deputies; but above all things, I admire his Comparison, p. 247. where *the Hans Towns* (I suppose) represent *the Proprieties*, and *those under Arbitrary Princes*, are put for *the Kings Colonies*; this is a mighty fine Story indeed, but the Misfortune of all is, that there is nothing in it but Story; for I think no one will say, that the Propriety of *Mary Land* is better settled, and the People more Industrious in Trade, than they are in the Kings Colony of *New York*; or that there is any Comparison between the Propriety of *North-Carolina*, and the Kings Colony of *Virginia*. As to the Government being Arbitrary, that indeed is somewhat too true, and if this Paragraph were inserted here with a design to have that remedied by the Parliament, we should have owned the obligation to him; but it appears plainly that he only intended it to Cast a blemish upon the Kings Colonies, and invite People over to the Proprieties,

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Proprieties, otherwise he might have mentioned them all as Arbitrary Governments; for without much Inquiry, Instances may be given that Governours have usurped more Authority than belonged to them, as well in the Proprieties as in the Kings Colonies.

The next thing I shall take notice of is, the Scheme for the general Government of the *Northward Plantations*, mentioned, p. 259. 260, 261. In the *Essay*, p. I have said something concerning this Scheme, therefore I shall add but very little about it here; but I cannot forbear observing to you, that according to this Gentlemans Propositions, that Assembly will be very well modelled, with respect to the Interest of *England*; for you may perceive all along, that he is for having the Proprieties and Charter Governments restored, and then of all the ten Provinces he mentions to send Members, to the National Assembly, he proposes; none but *Virginia* and *New York* will be under the Kings Government; so that the plain tendency of this Scheme, is to put the Government of all the Continent of *America* under the Proprie,

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Proprieties ; for they will have sixteen Voices in twenty, in that National Assembly ; which will be much for the Interest of *England* ; since the almost entire dependance of seven of these Proprieties is upon Provisions of several sorts, and Woollen Manufactures, and without doubt in all their proceedings, they will have a little regard at least to their own Interest, which of necessity must be prejudicial to *England*, even according to our Authors own Doctrine, p. 232.

'Tis true, the High Commissioner having a Negative in all their Acts, may prevent any Notorious Injuries, but where there is only a Power to prevent Injustice, and not an Interest to procure Justice, there will be little good done by such a Government.

It is proposed that this Assembly should meet at *New York*, and the reason given is, because that is a Frontier ; if the Gentleman means that the *Western* bounds of *New York*, are the Frontiers of *New York*, he is in the Right indeed ; but if he means that the Province of *New York* is a Frontier to *Virginia*,

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ginia, *Mary-Land*, or *Carolina*, he is very much mis-informed, for it is quite otherwise; I know during the *Late War*, the *New York Men* made a great noise, that they defended all our *Frontiers*, and therefore ought in reason to be assisted by the *Neighbouring Colonies*, but the truth of the matter was, they only defended themselves and their own *Trade* with the *Indians*.

Whoever observes, the Situation of the Colonies on the Continent, may easily perceive that to the *Eastward*, they are bounded by the *Sea*; on the *Northward*, and *Southward*, they border upon each other; and on the *Westward*, they are all open to the *Indians*; who can come in upon the *Western Frontiers* of any Colony they please, and *New York* can by no means in the *World* hinder it.

This Scheme of Government may be made useful, if the Governments of the *Proprieties* were taken into the *Kings hands*, and some other Alterations were made, which I have proposed *See Essay* elsewhere, and therefore I shall not say any thing further of it here.

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I have already declared my Opinion for Liberty of Conscience in the Plantations, and therein I find this Gentleman and I do not differ; and for his long Digression about Moral Vertue; and his Practical Ethics (as he calls them) I shall not trouble my self or you with repeating any part of them; because I do not find they concern the matter in hand, nor can I see any Reason, why they might not have suited any other Subject as well as this, and perhaps have been more properly put in a distinct Chapter by themselves; under the Title of a Lecture against the Court, or any thing else you please; I perceive the Gentleman is very angry with every body (about Court especially) but the King; to whose Character he endeavours (now and then by fits) to do Justice; upon which I can only say, that great is our *Cesar*, since even *Brutus* vouchsafes to extol him; and for the Courtiers, I doubt all his Lashes are in vain, for they know better things than to mend upon Good Advice only.

Thus

The Preface.

Thus Sir, I have given you my thoughts of that Discourse, as well as the shortness of my time, my late want of health, and my other Affairs, would permit and rough as it is, I was willing to send it to you by this Ship, because it will be the last for this year.

I had once Proposed to have troubled you, with an Essay on the Enlargement of Trade with the *Indians*, and on the most probable means, to secure the *English* Plantations on the Continent from such Inconveniences and prejudices, as they may hereafter be lyable to, in Case of another War with *France*; wherein I intended to have given a more particular and exact account of those Affairs than hath been hitherto given; and also I designed to have laid open the unheard of Practices of some Arbitrary Governours, and the mischievous contrivances of some Evil Ministers about Court, whereby the Plantations have been very much injured and oppressed, and the Interest of *England* very much prejudiced; but these being matters that require some time and expence, I have not been able to perfect them

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them at this time, neither am I very willing to engage in a War upon my own strength alone ; however if hereafter I find the Publick service requires it, I shall venture to strike one bold stroak, in such a Cause, without being in the least frightened, either by the Greatness or Power of those persons, whose Gandy Tinsel Pomp I despise, as much as I should their mean base Spirits, if I found them in Lower Stations.

S I R, &c.



AN
ESSAY

Upon the
GOVERNMENT
OF THE
English Plantations

On the Continent of

AMERICA.

AS of late many Controversies
have arisen in the *English* Na-
tion; so 'tis observable, that
the two great Topicks of
Trade and Plantations have had their
Parts in the Dispute; and indeed it must
be confess'd, that (considering the pre-
sent Circumstances of the World) they

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are

An Essay upon the Government

are of the greatest Importance to all Nations, but more especially the *English*.

Almost all that hath been hitherto written concerning the Plantations hath had a more peculiar Relation to their Trade, and accordingly the several Advocates either for their Freedom, or binding them to a more strict Dependence upon the Crown of *England*, have framed their Arguments so as they thought might best answer those Purposes; from whence it may be very naturally inferr'd, that some By Ends of their own have had a great Influence over many of them, and that private Interest was the great *Diana* for which they contested.

*The Design
of these Pa-
pers.*

The Design of these Papers is not to treat of the Trade, but the Government of the Plantations; not how to make them great, and rich, by an open free Traffick, but happy, by a Just and Equal Government; that they may enjoy their Obscurity, and the poor way of living which Nature is pleased to afford them out of the Earth, in Peace; and be protected in the Possession thereof.

of the English Plantations.

thereof, by their lawful Mother *England*.

I am sensible the *English* Plantations may be rendred very serviceable and beneficial to their Mother Kingdom, and I do not in the least doubt she will make the best Advantage of them she can; 'tis what others would do if they were in her place; and therefore I shall not complain of any Hardships in Trade, neither shall it be mentioned but as it comes in the way, in pursuit of the main Design I have laid down.

The Countries under the *English* Government on the Continent of *America* are healthy and fertile, and very well situate both for Pleasure and Profit, especially *Virginia* and *Maryland*, which, as they are the best and most advantageous to the Crown of *England*; so likewise is the Air and Climate of them most agreeable to the *English* Constitutions of Body, the Land richest, the Rivers most commodious, and naturally the whole Countries far excelling any part of the Continent either on the North or South of them.

An Essay upon the Government

The chieftest Thing wanting to make the Inhabitants of these Plantations happy, is a good Constitution of Government ; and it seems strange, that so little care hath been heretofore taken of that, since it could not be any Prejudice, but of great Advantage even to *England* itself, as perhaps may appear by what shall be offered hereafter.

'Tis true, many Propositions have been made for regulating the Governments of particular Plantations, several of which are now extant ; but being mostly calculated by Persons who seem to be biaßed by Interest, Prejudice, Revenge, Ambition, or other private Ends I dare not rely on them : Some there are which I shall make bold to use some Parts of, as I find them for my Purpose.

Objections
against
this Dis-
course.

But before I proceed further, it is necessary to answer some Objections that may be made against my self, and the Work I am going about.

It hath been alledged by some that the Plantations are prejudicial to *England*; but this is already so well answered by
Sir

of the English Plantations.

5

Sir J. Child in his New Discourse of Trade, from Page 178, to Page 216, by the Author of the *Essay upon Ways and Means*, in his Discourses on the Publick Revenues and the Trade of *England*, Part II. p. 193, to 209. and several other Writings which have been Published, that I cannot think it needful to say any thing more about it.

The Objections I shall take notice of, are these following :

1. It may be objected, that I being an Inhabitant of the Plantations, may probably be too much biassed to their Interest, and therefore am not to be relied on.

2. That the Plantation Governments are already settled well enough; and it may be dangerous to make any great Alterations in them.

3. That it is necessary the King should be more Absolute in the Plantations than he is in *England*: And consequently,

B 3

4. That

An Essay upon the Government

4. That the settling a free Constitution of Government in the Plantations will be prejudicial to the King's Service,

*Answer to
those Objections.*

In answer to all which, I beg leave to offer the following Considerations.

1. That, let the Author be what he will, the most material Thing to be respected, is the good or evil Tendency of the Work. If his Majesty's Service seems chiefly aimed at, and no private Interest mixed with it, then I hope that Objection is removed: And for my self, I can with a great deal of Truth and Sincerity affirm, that I have not the least Thought or Design of any thing but his Majesty's Interest and Service, and therein of the Good of all his Subjects in general; but whether the Means I shall propose, may be any wise conducive to those Ends, is humbly submitted to those who have the Honour to be intrusted with the Charge of those Affairs.

*The Plan-
tation Go-
vernments*

2. If the Governments of the Plantations are already well settled, there needs

needs not any Alteration, (that, I think, ^{under will} every good Man will grant :) But if upon ^{settled.} inquiry, it appears, that none of them have ever been well settled; that the present Method of managing them is inconvenient and prejudicial; and that much better Ways may be found: If, I say, these things can be shewn, why should they not be received: If, being considered, they are not approved, they may be rejected, no Alteration will be made, nor any harm done; but rather Good: For my Attempt may set some better Hand to work on the same Subject; and being instructed by others Observations on my Errors, may be more capable to make Amendments: But this, I think, may be safely said, that if any Alterations in the Government of the Plantations are necessary, they may be much more easily done now they are in their infancy, than hereafter when they grow more populous, and the Evils have taken deeper Root, and are more interwoven with the Laws and Constitutions of the several Colonies.

3. It may perhaps be said that it is necessary the King should have a more absolute Power in the Plantations than he ^{The King ought not to have a more abso-} hath

lute Power
in the Plan-
tations
than in
England.

hath in *England*. I know this hath been said, and pretended to be asserted by Argument; and to make it more passable, it hath been framed into a sort of a *Syllogism*, thus: *All such Kingdoms, Principalities, Dominions, &c. as are dependent on the Crown of England, and are not a Part of the Empire of the King of England, are subject to such Laws as the King is pleased to impose on them; But the English Plantations in America are dependent on the Crown of England, and are not part of the Empire of the King of England: Ergo, they are subject to such Laws as the King shall please to impose.* Now it is observable, that the main Stress of this Matter depends upon the Distinction between the *Crown of England*, and the *Empire of the King of England*: And if there is no such Distinction (as possibly there may not) the whole falls to the Ground: But if there be such a Distinction, then the clear Tendency of the Argument, is to lay the Plantations intirely at the King's Feet, for him to do what he pleases with them; and the Parliament are not at all concerned in the Business, only upon sufferance. This I take to be the clear Consequence of the Argument, which no King ever yet

yet pretended to; and for which the Lords and Commons of *England* are very much obliged to the Inventer.

But tho' the King's Right and Prerogative are pretended in the Argument, there were other Reasons for inventing it; and that will appear, if it be remembered that it was first made use of upon the following Occasion. In former times a certain Gentleman was made Governour of one of the *English* Plantations, and had a large Commission for his Office, which he put in Execution after such a manner, that the People were not able to forbear shewing the highest Resentments of such Usage; and at last had recourse to Arms.

And hereupon to vindicate the Governour's Proceedings, it was thought necessary to start this Argument of the King's absolute Power in the Plantations, thereby to lay the Odium of an ill Governour's wicked Actions upon the King.

By the ancient known Laws of the Land the King's Power is sufficient to make himself a great Prince, and his Subjects

jects a happy People; and those very Men that raise these strange Arguments for Absolute Power do not aim at the King's Service in it: But they know, that if they make the King Absolute, his Lieutenant will be so of course; and that is their chief Design.

Thus the King's Power is pretended to be made great, whilst in reality his Interest is destroyed, and so is the Interest of *England* too: for these are the true Reasons that many People who are poor and miserable at home, will not come to the Plantations because they know they shall be ill used.

From what is said, I think it appears very plain, that it is not for the Interest or Service either of the King or Kingdom of *England*; that the Plantations should be under an unlimited Government: the true Interest of *England*, is to have the Plantations cherished, and the poor People encouraged to come hither, every Man here being of great Value to *England*, and most of those that come, are not able to do much good at home.

What,

Whatever Power the King hath in the Plantations must be executed by his Lieutenants: and if it should so happen that the King be mistaken in the Man, and send one who would aim more at his own Interest than the King's Service; and by Extortion, Bribery, and other the like Practices (too often complained of in some Places) should so distract the People, that they make Commotions or Insurrections against him: The King cannot possibly know this till it is too late; and then he will be obliged to inflict the severest Punishments upon some of the most considerable Offenders, to the Ruin of them and their Families, who otherwise might have done his Majesty good Service.

Neither is this all; for by such Commotions the Product of one Year at least will be lost in that Colony where they happen, which will be a greater Prejudice to *England* than the best Governour will ever be able to make amends for; the Loss of the Tobacco made in one Year in *Virginia*, considering the Customs and the Merchants Damage, by their shipping and Stock being unemployed, will

amount to at least 500000 *l.* prejudice to the King and Kingdom of *England*.

I know it will be said, that all this proceeds either from groundless Jealousies of I know not what Dangers to happen, no one knows when; or else, that I am very much prejudiced against some of the present Governours of the Plantations; to which I answer: That it is not to be supposed such things should happen every Day; but since they have been heretofore, it is probable, they may be again, and the Consequence being so very dangerous, the more Reason there is to endeavour the Prevention of them: And for the other Imputation, I can with a great deal of Truth say, that I have the Honour of being known but to two of the King's Governours, and for both of them, I have the most profound Respect and Regard imaginable; nor can I believe that either of them will find fault with me for endeavouring to prevent those male-Administrations in others, of which they will never be guilty themselves.

A free Constitution of 4. The other Objection to this Work is, That the settling a free Constitution of

of the English Plantations.

11

of Government in the Plantations may be prejudicial to the King's Service. To this I answer, That by a free Constitution of Government, I mean, that the Inhabitants of the Plantations may enjoy their Liberties and Estates, and have Justice equally and impartially administered unto them; and that it should not be in the power of any Governour to prevent this. Now by enjoying Liberty, I understand, the Liberty of their Persons being free from Arbitrary, illegal Imprisonments; not that they should have great Liberties of Trade, or any other Liberties or Priviledges, that may be thought prejudicial to the King or Kingdom of *England*; for my Design is not to complain of our Subjection, or any thing of that Nature; but to shew as well as I can, what may be done for the Interest and Service both of *England* and the Plantations.

It is no Advantage to the King, that his Governours should have it in their Power to gripe and squeeze the People in the Plantations, nor is it ever done, for any other Reason, than their own private Gain. I have often heard Complaints made, that the Governours and their

their Officers and Creatures, have been guilty of ill things to raise Estates for themselves, or to gratify their own Revenge, or some other Passion; but I never heard, that any of the Plantations were oppressed to raise Money for the King's Service, and indeed I think it is past Dispute, that the King's and Plantations Interest is the same, and that those who pretend, the King hath, or ought to have an unlimited Power in the Plantations, are a sort of People, whose Designs make their Interests run counter to that both of the King and Plantations.

Thus having briefly answered those Objections which perhaps may be made to what I shall offer: I proceed to the main Design, which is to shew several things, which I must beg leave to say, I conceive are amiss, and to propose some Methods for redressing those Grievances.

*The Heads
of the fol-
lowing Dis-
course.*

The Particulars which I shall treat of may properly enough be ranked under these several Heads, viz. *Religion, Laws, Trade, People, Relation of one Plantation to another, Governours, King.*

The

The present Inconveniencies relating to Religion, in short are these. 1. That there is not a good free Liberty of Conscience established; but generally whatever Religion or Sect happens to be most numerous, they have the Power over all the rest; thus the Independants in *New-England*, and the Quakers in *Pensylvania*, abuse all Mankind that come among them, and are not of their Persuasion; and in *New-York* it is as bad, or rather worse; for there the contending Parties are pritty near equal; from whence it follows, that [sometimes one, and sometimes the other prevailing,] those who happen to have the best Interest and most favour in the Government, exert their utmost Skill and Industry to ruin the others.

Grievances
relating to
Religion.

In our Government of *Virginia* we are, or pretend most of us to be of the Church of *England*; some few Roman Catholicks amongst us, some Quakers, who at present seem to be greatly increasing; and about two or three Meetings of Dissenters, and those in the out-parts of the Countrey, where at present are no Church of *England* Ministers, nor can any

any be put well there, no sufficient Provision being made for their Maintenance; all the Ministers Salaries are paid in Tobacco, which in those places is of so small value, that they cannot well subsist upon the Salary allowed by Law.

But notwithstanding the Church of *England* is so generally established here, yet there is scarce any sort of Church Government established amongst us; the Laws indeed do direct building of Churches, and have ascertain'd what Salaries shall be paid to the Clergy, but it is not well determined who are Patrons of the Parishes, what Right of presentation they have, in what Cases the King, or the Bishop may present *jure devoluto*; and many other Defects of that Nature there are, as yet unprovided for; here also I may add, that there is no established Court for the Punishment of Scandalous Ministers, nor any Care taken to prevent Dilapidations, neither are there any Courts where Incestuous Marriages, and other Causes of the like nature are properly triable.

In

In some places no care at all is taken, either of the Religion or Morality of the Inhabitants, as particularly, *North-Carolina*, and in this almost all the Proprieties and Charter-Governments are to blame.

I shall not take upon me to offer much towards remedying these Grievances of Religion, because I think it is an improper Subject for me; but it is to be wish'd, that some Care were taken to instruct the People well in Morality, that is, what all Perswasions either do, or pretend to desire.

The Inconveniencies the Plantations labour under, on Account of their Laws, are very many.

*Grievances
on Account
of their
Laws.*

It is a great Unhappiness, that no one can tell what is Law, and what is not; in the Plantations; some hold that the Law of *England* is chiefly to be respected, and where that is deficient, the Laws of the several Colonies are to take place; others are of Opinion, that the Laws of the Colonies are to take the first place, and that the Law of *England* is of force only where they are silent; others

there are, who contend for the Laws of the Colonies, in Conjunction with those that were in force in *England* at the first Settlement of the Colony, and lay down that as the measure of our Obedience, alleging, that we are not bound to observe any late Acts of Parliament made in *England*, except such only where the Reason of the Law is the same here, that it is in *England*; but this leaving too great a Latitude to the Judge; some others hold that no late Acts of the Parliament of *England* do bind the Plantations, but those only, wherein the Plantations are particularly named. Thus are we left in the dark, in one of the most considerable Points of our Rights; and the Case being so doubtful, we are too often obliged to depend upon the Crooked Cord of a Judge's Discretion, in Matters of the greatest Moment and Value.

Of late Years great Doubts have been raised, how far the Legislative Authority is in the Assemblies of the several Colonies; whether they have Power to make certain Acts or Ordinances in the nature of by-Laws only; or, whether they can make Acts of Attainder, Naturalization, for settling or disposing of
Titles

Titles to Lands within their own Jurisdiction, and other things of the like Nature; and where Necessity requires, make such Acts as best suit the Circumstances and Constitution of the Country, even tho' in some Particulars, they plainly differ from the Laws of *England*.

And as there have been Doubts made concerning the Enacting of Laws with us, so likewise there have been great Controversies concerning the Repeal of Laws made here: The Assemblies have held, that when any Law made by them, and not assented to by the King in *England* is repealed by them; such Repeal doth intirely annul and abrogate, and even (as it were) annihilate the former Law, as if it never had been made, and that it cannot by any means be revived, but by the same Power that at first enacted it, which was the Assembly: But the Governours have held, that tho' the King hath not assented to the first, yet he hath the Liberty of refusing his Assent to the repealing Law, and by Proclamation may repeal that, and then the other is revived of course: This Dispute, and others

of the like Nature, ran very high in the late Reigns.

It is also to be observed as a great Defect, that no one of these Colonies on the Continent, have any tolerable Body of Laws; all of them have some sort of Laws or other; but there is not any such thing amongst them all, as a regular Constitution of Government, and good Laws for Directions of the several Officers, and other Persons therein, with suitable Penalties to enforce Obedience to them.

This seems to have been a Fault in the Beginning; for then it was put into bad Hands, and hath been little mended since. One notorious Instance may be given in *Virginia*. This Colony was at first given for the Encouragement of it to a Company of Adventurers, who by Charter from King *James* the first, were constituted a Corporation, and they set up a sort of Government here, the Chief Magistrates whereof were called Governor and Council; and they [I suppose] as the chief Members of the Corporation, constituted the highest Court of Judicature; afterwards this Countrey was taken into

the King's Hands, and the same Constitution of Governour and Council remained; and they to this Day continue to be the highest Court of Judicature in the Countrey; tho' we have no Law to establish them such, neither have they ever had any Commission for that purpose, and till April 1699. were never sworn to do Justice, but being made Counsellors, they took their Places as Judges of Course.

From hence it may be observ'd, that no great Stress is to be laid on any Argument against Alterations in the Plantations, barely because Changes may be dangerous, for [it seems] a Regular Settlement hath never yet been made, and therefore 'tis time to be done now.

After what has been said concerning the Defects in the Legislative Authority, and the Laws of the Plantations; It is not to be thought strange, that the Establishment of the Courts of Judicature is defective also, that being the Superstructure and the other the Foundation.

The next thing to be consider'd, is the Trade of the Plantations on the Continent

continent of *America*; and herein I shall not pretend to calculate the Advantage that may be made to *England* thereby; I think no Body at this time of day is ignorant of that, neither shall I pretend to plead for the Plantations having great Liberties of Trade allow'd them; But I hope it may be thought reasonable, that the Colonies under the King's more immediate Protection, and which are by far the most profitable to *England*, should at least be as much encouraged as the Proprietors and Charter Governments, who are almost so many People lost to *England*.

The King's Plantations are governed by Persons appointed by the King, and they generally take all possible Care to prevent illegal Trade, and Frauds, and Abuses in the Revenues; but it is otherwise in the Charter Governments, for there the Parties concerned, find it their Interest to connive at [if not assist] those Practices; and to excuse themselves in it, they say, they are obliged to give all reasonable Incouragement for People to come and live with them.

Nor

Nor are these all the Injuries that the King's Governments suffer by the Proprieties, for they being under no Obligation but their own Advantage, have many other ways to serve themselves to the Prejudice of their Neighbours.

There is almost a constant Intercourse of Trade and Commerce from *New-York*, and the other Northern Colonies to *Madagascar*, and other parts of *India*, from whence are brought Muslins, and other Indian Goods, which are privately run into the Colonies under the King's Government: The last Summer, one *Shelley*, a *New-York* Man, brought about sixty Pyrates, (Passengers) with great quantities of Goods from those Parts; and lay at Anchor off *Cape May*, at the Mouth of *Delaware*, till he had dispersed most of them into *Pensylvania*, the *Jersey's*, and other neighbouring Colonies; these Practices are prejudicial to the Plantation Trade, contrary to the Act of Parliament for settling the *India* Trade, and tend to the ruin of all Trade in the World; and yet I think *Shelley* went into *New-York* afterwards and was never questioned about it.

Nor is this one Instance only of such Practices amongst them ; but it is notorious in this Part of the World, that Pyrates and Privateers have been very much harboured by them, especially to the Northward ; and those People bringing in great quantities of Money, and other rich Goods, all the Seamen in the adjacent Plantations run thither, and many of them take up that Trade, and being acquainted with the Coasts, are the more capable to commit Robberies, and to take and plunder Ships sailing in and out, between the Capes of *Chisapeak* Bay, on their Voyages between *England* and *Virginia* and *Mary-Land* : This is a great Prejudice to the Trade of those Places, and not only so, but to the King's Revenues.

We in the King's Governments look upon the Pirates and Privateers to be Robbers and Thieves ; but the good People of *Pensylvania* esteem them very honest Men for bringing Money into their Countrey, and encouraging their Trade.

The King's Governours in the Colonies are strictly bound up by their Instru-

structions, that they cannot give their Assent to any Laws for ascertaining the Value of Coin, in their Governments; but the Proprieties not being tyed up to this Rule, they are always at Liberty, either to raise or lower the Value of Money, as their Interest and present Occasions require; by which means they have drained almost all the Ready Money out of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, the two Colonies, that [considering their Value to *England*] 'tis presum'd, may reasonably expect at least as much Favour and Protection as any of their Neighbours.

All that hath been observed hitherto, hath had relation more or less to all the Colonies on the Continent; what follows under this Head of Trade, will more particularly have regard to the Plantations of *Virginia* and *Mary-Land*; which as they are the most Considerable, and of greatest Consequence, so they seem [and perhaps with some Reason] to apprehend themselves to be under harder Circumstances than any of their Brethren.

Grievances particularly relating to the Trade of Virginia and Mary-Land.

The

The Duties upon Tobacco, the only Produce of those Places, are very high and burthensom; those they cannot expect to be eased from, untill the Crown of *England* is in better Condition to afford it; but it seems modest enough to wish, that those Duties were laid upon them in the easiest manner.

When the 3 *d. per lib.* was first laid upon Tobacco, it was paid in the nature of an Excise, by the first Buyer in so many Months, and not by the Importer; but now that 3 *d.* and all the rest of the 6 *d.* is paid by the Importer as a Custom, which is extremely grievous and burthensom to the Inhabitants of these Plantations.

The manner of Trade between *England* and these Plantations is thus; either the Tobacco is bought from the Planters by the Merchants of *England*, and by them shipped, or else it is shipped by the Inhabitants of the Countrey, and consigned to their Correspondents in *England*, and by these Inhabitants or Planters in *Virginia*, we may reasonably compute that 20000 *Hogsheads* of Tobacco a Year

Year are sent for *England*, which weighing one with another about 500 *Nets*. Tobacco, the whole amounts to 10,000,000 of Pounds of Tobacco.

Upon all Tobacco's sold in *London* there are certain Allowances called *Clof* and *Tret*, amounting to about 4 *per Cent.* which are made to the Buyer: Now when the Importer paid only the two Pence, and the Buyer the rest, that Allowance was but of four times two Pence in every Hundred Weight of Tobacco; but now the Importer pays the whole six Pence, that Allowance comes to four six-pences in every Hundred Weight of Tobacco; so that the Importer loses just 4 *per Cent.* upon the last four Pence.

The Factor in *London* takes 2 *l.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* to himself as Commission for the Sale of the Goods, and when the Importer paid only the 2 *d.* the Factor had Commission only upon that; but now he charges it upon the whole, which is a further Damage to the Importer of 2 *l.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* upon the last 4 *d.* *per lib.*

Now these two Articles alone, which are so little, they are hardly taken notice of,

of, are yet so considerable as to amount to very near a Tax of 10s. *per Pole* on all the Tythables in *Virginia*; for they are not above 22,000. and this comes to 10833 *l.* 6s. 1d. $\frac{1}{2}$ which I compute thus, the 4d. *per lib.* on 10,000,000 *lib.* of Tobacco amounts to 166,666 *l.* 13s. 4d. upon which Account

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
4 <i>per Cent.</i> Clo. and Tret } 6666.		12.	09. $\frac{1}{2}$
is ————— }			
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>per Cent.</i> Commissi- }	4166.	13.	04.
on to the Factor is — }			

10833. 06. 01. $\frac{1}{2}$

This Sum to so great a Kingdom as *England* is not worth speaking of; but to so poor a Handful of People as we are, is very considerable, and the more, because it is paid anew every Crop that is made.

When the Importer paid only the two Pence *per lib.* it was at the peril of the Factor in *London*, to see that he sold the Tobacco to such Men as were capable to pay the remaining four Pence, because he was answerable to the King for it: But now the Planter is answerable for the

the whole six Pence ; and if by any Omission of the Factor, the Tobacco is sold to a Man that breaks, and cannot pay for it, the Planter loses not only the first Cost of his Goods, but all the Duties besides, which perhaps all he hath in the World will not make Good, and so he is ruined by his Factor's Neglect.

And moreover, the Duty being so very great, the Importer is necessitated to sell his Goods in a short time, at such a rate as he can get, because he is not able to let so vast a quantity of Money lie dead upon his Hands, to wait for a better Market.

These particular Circumstances aforementioned, make the Condition of the Planter very hazardous and difficult, even in Comparison of what it was, under the former Method of paying the Duties ; and since the King's Interest is not touched, it would be a great deal of Charity to relieve us, if possible ; it is the Product of our Labour, we run the Risque of the Sea, and of the Market ; the Buyer runs no Hazard, neither doth the Factor ; and yet it very often happens, that he gets more for his Com-
missi-

mission of Selling, than the Planter doth for the first Purchase; nay, sometimes he loses the whole, and is brought in Debt for the Charges, when the Factor gets very considerably for his Commissions, and the Buyer makes very profitable Returns.

Running Tobacco in England.

The great Abuse of running Tobacco in *England*, and defrauding the King of his Customs, is of very ill Consequence to the Plantations, for all that is run must be sold at under Rates, and that beats down the Price to the fair Trader; this hath been endeavoured to be prevented by an Act made the last Session of Parliament, to prohibit the Importation of Bulk Tobacco into *England*, and peradventure that Act may be of great Use, but Practice only can tell that.

Act against the Importation of Bulk Tobacco, defective.

However, by the way it is to be noted, that that Act is somewhat defective, for no Penalties on the Breach of it can be recovered but in the Courts of *Westminster*, when in Truth the Officers in the Plantations, are the proper Persons to prevent the Abuse; and they cannot make a Voyage for *England* to prosecute; nei-

neither is it plain, that the Penalty becomes due, till the Breach is detected in *England*; and if so, the Masters of Ships and their Mariners are only obliged to put it on Shore before it is found, and then they are safe:

In the fourth Place I come to discourse of the People in the Plantations: And here it is extreamly to be lamented, that such a vast Tract of Land, so Pleasant, so Fruitful, so Healthy, so Capable of all sorts of Improvement, for the Support and Encouragement of the Inhabitants; so well furnish'd with all sorts of Beasts, Birds, and Fruits; and so conveniently situate for Traffick, by many commodious navigable Rivers, and those so well stored with Fish of all sorts; I say it is a very melancholy Consideration, that so great a part of the World, by Nature so rich and improveable, should lie almost wholly rude, and uncultivated for want of People.

Grievances with relation to the People in the Plantations.

It hath been said by some, that the Plantations drawing People from *England* are prejudicial to it; but this will appear to have very little Weight in it, if it be consider'd, that not many come hither

ther who are capable of doing much for their Countrey's Service at home. In the first Settlements indeed, many worthy good Men adventured themselves hither, with Expectations to raise their Fortunes, but most, if not all of them, were disappointed in their Hopes: Also in the late Civil Wars, and other unquiet Times in *England*, many Persons of good Character and Reputation fled to the Plantations, for the Enjoyment of that Protection, which was denied them at Home; and when *England's* Misfortunes cast her again into the like unhappy Circumstances, 'tis reasonable to believe, more such People will be constrain'd to leave their own Country for the Plantations, [which is yet far better than to go into Foreign Princes Dominions] but without some such Accident happen, very few, or none will come to inhabit there, but such poor miserable Wretches, as not being able to get Bread at home, are forced to submit to be Servants four or five Years, to defray the Charge of their Transportation; and surely it is a great Service to *England*, that the Plantations take off, and Employ very much to her Benefit, those Persons, who otherwise must Beg, Starve,
or

or perhaps be dispatched by the Cord of Justice, for using unlawful Means, to procure a mean Subsistence. The Governments of the Plantations not being well settled, and the Want of an Impartial Administration of Justice, are great Discouragements to those that otherwise would come hither, or being here, would stay.

The late Act of Parliament incapacitating Foreigners to purchase Lands, to bear Offices, or to be upon Juries, is a great Discouragement to those People from coming hither.

5. The Inconveniencies and Prejudi-^{Grievances}ces that one Plantation receives from ^{of one Plan-}another, are very considerable, and un-^{tation to a-}der the present Management, are almost ^{nother.}impossible to be prevented; but above all, the Proprieties and Charter Governments, do ever prove ill Neighbours to such of the King's as lye next them; especially *Carolina* and *Pensylvania*, to *Virginia* and *Mary-land*; the two first being continual Receptacles for Servants and Debtors, that run from the two latter, to the great Detriment of their Masters and Creditors.

Another Master Policy of the Proprieties hath been to raise, and encourage Faction in their Neighbouring Colonies ; as well knowing the weakest Party must fly to them for Shelter.

I have already under the third Head mentioned the Prejudices, the King's Plantations lie under, from the Proprieties, in Point of Trade, and Coin, and by harbouring Pyrates.

*Remarks on
the Author
of the Essay
on Ways and
Means.*

And here I cannot but take notice, what I find written by the Author of the *Essay on Ways and Means*, in his Discourses on the *Publick Revenues*, and on the *Trade of England*, in the second Part of that Work, concerning the Plantation Trade.

I would not be thought so fond of my own Abilities, as to believe my self sufficient to enter the Lists of Controversy with that Gentleman, who seems to be a Man of good Parts, and to have taken a great deal of Pains in that Discourse ; but being himself unaquainted, and very badly informed by others, 'tis not to be thought strange, that he has
ma-

managed his Business very lamely: I shall not at this time take upon me to controvert any of his Reasonings and Arguments, [tho' perhaps liable to many Objections] but wholly confine myself to matter of Fact, in which he has been very much misinform'd, and considering the Particulars, it is not hard to guess, That a certain Northern Proprietor had a great Hand in it.

I shall not mention any thing for Argument's sake only; but I shall remark some Particulars, wherein the Truth is misrepresented, and so leave them barely, to shew, that if I write any thing contrary to what that Gentleman hath offer'd, 'tis not thro' Inadvertency of what he has done, but because I think I am better able to give a true Account of the Matter of Fact. P. 240. 245.

250, 251. 283, 284. I observe he is often finding Fault, that the Charters to the Proprieties are not kept inviolable, and asserting that to be the best way to encourage those Plantations: Whether it would encourage them or not, I know not; but sure I am, that if the Proprieties are let alone to entertain Pyrates and Privateers, and to carry on a

Course of Illegal Trade, as of late Years hath been practised amongst many of them, the Consequences thereof to *England* will be too fatal not to be taken notice of.

But to take off any Imputations of this Nature, it is said, [Page 250] that in those Colonies which by Charter are not governed from *England*, as to all Duties belonging to the Crown Revenue, the King has as immediate an Influence by having an Officer of his own upon the Spot, as in other Places; but with Submission I would ask him, What such an Officer signifies under a Charter Government: The King thought fit lately to erect a Court of Admiralty in *Pennsylvania*; but the great Opposition the Judge and other Officers have met with, and the many Tricks and Contrivances that have been used to ruine some of them, do sufficiently evidence what they would be at.

P. 229. It is urged in favour of the Proprieties, That the Dissenters living there, are a sober temperate People, which is the Cause of their Increase of Inhabitants; But under Favour I take it, that

that their Pyracý and Illegal Trade have drawn more People to them, than their Sobriety and Temperance have increased.

'Tis true, they will not all of them swear and be drunk so publickly as is usual in some other Places, but their other Morals are no better than those of their Neighbours; perhaps not so good, if they were, whence should spring that Tenet of theirs, That every Man is bound to believe a Professor upon his bare Affirmation only, before another Man upon Oath; Whence hath proceeded the great Opposition they have made to the Court of Admiralty lately erected by his Majesty's Authority, whence their Pretence of making Laws for the Management of their Trade, without Regard to the Acts of Parliament of *England*; and whence their Esteem of the Pyrates as honest Men, bringing Money into their Countrey: Are Knavery, and Injustice, and Disobedience, and Rebellion, and Pyracý, and Robbery such commendable Morals? Much more may be said on this Occasion; but at present I pass it by.

P. 234. It is said the Reasons why *Virginia* hath thriven no better, are, That the Planters and Inhabitants have been, and at this time are discouraged from Planting Tobacco in that Colony; and Servants are unwilling to go thither, because the Members of the Council and others having an Interest in the Government, have from time to time procured Grants for large Tracts of Land, so that none is left to be cultivated by Servants coming in at this time; and to render the thing as ill as may be, P. 236. it is represented, that the Quit-rents for those Lands are seldom paid; and instead of Building and Stocking, they sell a few Trees, and throw up a little Hut covered with Bark, and put three or four Hogs into the Woods: And by these means it comes to pass, that many hold twenty or thirty Thousand Acres of Land apiece, and that largely survey'd; some Patents including double the quantity of Land that was intended to be granted: And hence [saith he] it proceeds, that many hundred thousand Acres are taken up but not planted; which Practice drives away the Inhabitants and Servants bred up only to Planting, and forces them into Colonies where

where there Labour is not so profitable either to the Crown or Kingdom of *England*. This is the Substance of what he asserts, and of this he saith, he hath certain Information. To all which I say, That true it is, that in some Places great Quantities of Land have been taken up, and not very well seated, by reason the People have been driven off by the *Indians*, that is by Foreign *Indians*, not those that pretend any Right to the Land: And some other Tracts of Land have been Patented, and but just so much Seating and planting upon them as the Law directs; which perhaps upon better Consideration may not be thought sufficient; but that ever throwing up a Hut of Bark, or putting three or four Hogs into the Woods was accounted Seating a Tract of Land, I do positively deny, and am very sure no Man can give one Instance, that ever it has been so adjudged.

That the Council and other Persons having Interest in the Government, and not others as well as they, gained great Tracts of Land is an entire Fiction: That was not the Cause of such extravagant Grants; but the Government always esteem'd it the King's Interest, that the

Land should be taken up, because it increased the Quit-rents, and therefore they were willing to give it to any one that would take it: I do not say, that this Management of former Governours may not be thought an Oversight, but certainly it will not bear the Colour that Gentleman seems to put upon it; for he represents it as a piece of downright Knavery in the great Men, to advance themselves and their Friends; tho' I believe, it will be difficult for any one to shew, that it was ever attempted to parcel the Land out amongst the Favorites, till about five or six years ago, some Lands that were valuable in *Pamunkey Neck*, [lying at the Head of *York River*] were granted to particular Friends; but upon a Dispute arising about a Tract of Land in that Neck, given by the King's Charter to the College, those Grants were surrendred, and so the Project fell.

The Quit-rents of all the Lands held of the King in *Virginia*, are constantly paid, except perhaps some few that escape by Fraud; but of them there are not many, and those by the Negligence of Officers.

There

There are not above three or four Men in the Countrey, that have each of them 20,000 Acres of Land in Possession, and the most valuable of them holds the greatest part of his by Marriage with a Widdow, as Guardian to an Orphan, and in right of his Children now *Minors*: And excluding the Lord *Fairfax's* Propriety in the Northern Neck, there is not one Man that holds 30,000 Acres of Land in the whole Colony; and it is further to be observed, that the best landed Men in the Country came to those Estates either by Descent or Purchase, and not by those Extravagant Grants as is suggested. The large Measure allowed by Surveyors in old Times, is as disingeniously narrated as any Part of the Story, for it is put in just after he mentions the great Quantities of Land some Men hold, so that he seems to insinuate, as if they held 40 or 60 instead of 20 or 30 thousand Acres; but he mistakes the Case, for here and there indeed some small Tracks are overmeasured; but the great ones have most of them been survey'd of late, and where the old Patents fell short, new ones have been taken out more exact.

I am sensible many Instances may be given of the Impolitic Methods of managing the Land in *Virginia*, and if they had been mention'd only as such, without any Air of Design and Abuse cast over the whole, as this Gentleman has done, I should not have taken upon me to contradict any thing he had said; but I think him ill used by those that have given him these Informations, and that much to the Prejudice of the King's Plantations; for the whole Discourse seems to be calculated as a Commendation of the Proprieties, and to bring Disgrace upon the King's Plantations, that People may be discouraged to come hither, and induced to go thither; and this Art of getting and keeping People from us, is a piece of very ill Neighbourhood in them.

Great Notice is taken of Lands being wanting in *Virginia*, when there is really good Land not yet granted, sufficient to satisfy many thousands of People; but nothing is said of the great numbers that have been decoyed over into a certain Northern Propriety, and how they bought large Tracts of Lands of the

the Proprietor in *England*, and when they came to seat it, there was not a sixth Part of what they bought to be found: Such Proprietors are like to teach pure Morals no doubt.

By what is said P. 249, 250. of the petty Emulations, or private Interests of Neighbour Governours, and the Petitions of hungry Courtiers at home, prevailing to discourage those particular Colonies, who in a few Years have raised themselves by their own Charge, Prudence and Industry, to the Wealth and Greatness they are now arrived at, without Expence to the Crown, &c. and by what is proposed P. 253, 254. that no Province should obstruct or clog the Passage of any Ship or Goods coming from England to it, with any Custom or Duty, &c. I say, by these two Passages in that Discourse, it is easie to tell who gave the Author of it the greatest Part of his Information; tho' I must confess I am somewhat at a loss for his Meaning in the Words, *Petitions of hungry Courtiers at Home*, unless they have relation to such Grants as the King hath been pleased to make of Wrecks, Prizes,

Goods

Goods of Pyrates in those Parts, or some such things; for I know no other Petitions of or Grants to Courtiers, that could give the least colour for such a Reflection. But to leave Controversy I proceed.

One other great Inconveniency that the Colonies suffer from one another, is, that the Inhabitants of one Government go into that which is adjacent, and contract Debts, or commit Breaches of the Laws, and return home, and by reason that no proper Method is yet settled, one cannot be compelled to satisfy his just Debts, nor the other brought to condign Punishment for his Offences.

*Grievances
with Rela-
tion to the
Governours.*

6. The next concerning Governours is a tender Point, and must be touched with clean Hands; and when I profess that I do not design to expose any particular Person now in Office, I hope Liberty may be allowed me, to remark some Grievances that the Plantations have, and may have Cause to complain of, if they knew where.

And herein I shall but lightly mention some things, part of which at least, perhaps

haps it may be necessary to reform hereafter, not accusing any Person for what is past.

Some Governours either through Weakness or Prejudice, have contributed very much to raise Factions in the Colonies under their Command, by making use of, and encouraging some one particular Sort or Sett of Men, and rejecting all others, and these Favourites being oftentimes of mean Education and base Spirits, cannot bear their good Fortunes, but thinking absolute Command only is their Province, either for private Interest, or to gratifie their Ambition, Revenge, or some other Passion, they hardly ever fail to run all Things into Confusion; and of these Actions by Favourites, Instances are not wanting.

The King's Governours in the Plantations either have, or pretend to have very large Powers within their Provinces, which together with the Trusts reposed in them, of disposing of all Places of Honour and Profit, and of being chief Judges in the Supream Courts of Judicature, (as they are in many Places, if not all,) render them so abso-

solute, that it is almost impossible to lay any sort of Restraint upon them.

On the other side, in some of the Proprieties, the Hands of the Government are so feeble, that they cannot protect themselves against the Insolencies of the Common People, which makes them very subject to Anarchy and Confusion.

The chief End of many Governours coming to the Plantations, having been to get Estates for themselves, very unwarrantable Methods have sometimes been made use of to compass those Ends, as by engrossing several Offices into their own Hands, selling them or letting them out at a yearly Rent of such a part of the Profits, and also by Extortion and Presents, (or Bribery) these things have been heretofore, and in ill Times may be done again.

And here I must beg Leave to say, that I am of Opinion, the Court of *England* hath hitherto gone upon wrong Principles, in appointing Governours of the Plantations; for those Places have been generally given as the last Rewards for past Services, and they expect-

ing

ing nothing after that, were almost necessitated, then to make Provision for their whole Lives, whereby they were in a manner forced upon such Methods (whether good or evil) as would compass those Ends.

Another very considerable difficulty the Plantations lie under from their Governours, is, that there is no way left to represent their evil Treatment to the King; for nothing of that Nature can be done without Money, no Money can be had without an Assembly, and the Governour always hath a Negative in their Proceedings, and not only so, but if he fears any thing of that Nature, he can let alone calling one, or (being called) can dissolve them at pleasure.

7. But the last and greatest Unhappiness the Plantations labour under, is, that the King and Court of *England* are altogether Strangers to the true State of Affairs in *America*, for that is the true Cause why their Grievances have not been long since redress'd.

King unacquainted with the true State of the Plantations.

The

The present Establishment of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations is very necessary and expedient for that Purpose, and perhaps may be rendred much more so, but they being Strangers to the Affairs in these Parts, are too often obliged to depend on the Relation of others who pretend to be better acquainted. Misrepresentations in those Cases may be very dangerous, and cannot well be prevented, there not being as yet any Method settled for them to gain certain Information of the true State of the Plantations.

*Remedies
for the a-
foremen-
tioned Grievances.*

Hitherto I have taken notice of some of the most material Inconveniencies attending these Plantations: Now I must beg Leave to offer such Remedies to Consideration as with Submission I conceive may prevent the like Grievances for the future.

To propose Schemes of Government, I know, hath always been esteemed a difficult Task, and the more, because the Proposer is look'd upon as obliged to answer all Objections that shall be made

made against them, and it is not impossible to raise many Objections against the best Government in the World, tho' perhaps it would be difficult to make any real Amendments.

I do not pretend to assert, that what I offer is of necessity to be approved, and that better cannot be done; I shall only presume to offer some few Generals to consideration; if they are well accepted, I have my Reward, if not, many Men of much greater Abilities than I am, have lost their Labours in such Cases, and therefore I shall be contented.

And as I began to lay open the Inconveniencies and Grievances of the Plantations, in order as they came under the General Heads set down in the beginning, so I shall likewise endeavour to propose the Remedies in the same Method; and,

1. For Religion; I have already said, ^{Remedies} I take it to be improper for me to of- ^{for the} fer much upon that Subject, and there- ^{Grievances} of Religion. fore, I shall only presume to mention two things, which I take to be of necessity

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cessity, for the Maintenance and Support of the Civil Government.

*Liberty of
Conscience.*

1. That sufficient Provision be made for all People, to enjoy the same Liberty of Conscience in the Plantations, that is indulged to them in *England*, upon the same Terms, and not otherwise; and as Dissenters should be sure of this Liberty, so likewise good Care should be taken that they may not abuse it; particularly, it is necessary to make such a Settlement, that no one may find it his Interest to leave the Church of *England*; as now in *Virginia* every Householder is obliged by Law to provide himself with Arms and Ammunition, and to go to Musters of the *Militia*; if they fail, they are to pay such a Fine: But the Law for imposing it being somewhat defective, and therefore the Fines not duly levied, many People [who have no great Sense of any Religion,] turn Quakers, chiefly to save the Expence and Trouble of providing Arms and Ammunition, and of going to Musters, and also by professing themselves Quakers, they are eased of being Constables, Church-wardens, and all such troublesome Offices, which

which other People are obliged to execute.

2. Tho' perhaps it may not be convenient to force all People to be of one Religion, yet it may be requisite to oblige every one to profess and practise some sort of Religion or other: to this end I humbly propose, that severe Laws be made against Blasphemy, Prophaneness, Cursing, Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, &c. with suitable Penalties to enforce the Observation thereof, and that all possible Diligence be used by the Governours, and other principal Officers of the Plantations to put those Laws in Effectual Execution within their respective Provinces.

*Against
Immorality.*

2. For remedying of the Grievances mentioned under the Head of Laws, I humbly propose,

*Remedies
for the
Grievances
relating to
the Laws.*

1. That some Rule be established, to know what Laws the Plantations are to be subject to, and particularly, how far the late Acts of Parliament do affect them, where they are not expressly mentioned.

E 2

2. That

Legislature.

2. That it be agreed how far the Legislature is in their Assemblies; whether they have Power of Naturalization, Attainders of Treason, Illegitimizing of Heirs, cutting off Intails, settling Titles to Lands, and other things of that nature; and whether they may make Laws disagreeable to the Laws of *England*, in such Cases, where the Circumstances of the Places are vastly different, as concerning Plantations, Waste, the Church, &c.

Courts of
Judica-
ture.

3. That a good Constitution of Courts of Judicature be established in the several Plantations, as shall be most agreeable to their respective Forms of Government, and other Circumstances.

That the Judges of the Supream Courts in every Province hold their Offices *quam diu se bene gesserint*, and that Provision be made to ascertain what shall be adjudged Misbehaviour in them, or at least, that care be taken, that it be not absolutely in the Governour's Breast, to displace any Judge at pleasure, without shewing his Reasons for the same,

to-

together with the Judge's Answer thereto.

That the last Resort of Justice may not be to the Chief Governours and Council here, and thence to the King and Council in *England*, as is now practised in most places; but that from the Judges commissioned as aforesaid, an Appeal directly to *England* may be allowed to such People as think themselves injured, in any Sum exceeding the Value of five hundred Pounds Sterl.

4. That in the King's Colonies, his Majesty would be graciously pleased to confirm all Lands to the several Possessors, [where any private Persons Interest is not concerned] as was done by King *Charles* the second in his Charter to *Virginia*, of which also Care should be taken, that it be not infringed, as heretofore it hath been.

Lands to be confirmed by the King.

And that by some Law for that purpose, good and wholsom Provisions be made, for the settling and adjusting the Inhabitants Titles to those Lands they hold of Proprietors, that those People may

Tenants of the Proprietors to be secured in their Lands.

not be continually obliged to a servile Dependance upon their Land-lords, and thereby be sometimes necessitated either to behave themselves disrespectively and disobediently to the Governour, acting by the King's Authority there, or to be in danger of losing their Lands, being forced to pay extravagant Fines for Confirmation of their Titles, or of being some other way liable to suffer under the Proprietors, or their Agents Displeasure.

I am very far from desiring, that the Right of the Proprietors in their Lands should be injured, therefore [for Explanation] I add further, that I do not propose, that the Proprietors shall be compelled to part with their Land at any set Price; in that let them make such reasonable Terms as they can; but whatever the Terms are, let the Inhabitants be secured by good Laws from any Tricks or Designs, which may be put upon them thereafter, for that will certainly cause Disorders and Mutinies, which are publick Inconveniencies and by no means to be tolerated for any private Man's Advantage; or if the People find themselves so far in the
Pro-

prietors Power, that they are of Necessity obliged to submit to him, then all that Interest will most surely be employed in prejudice of the King's Government there; and of this an Instance may be given, but it is an Invidious Task to tell Men of their Faults, and therefore I shall not mention them.

3. For Remedy of the Grievances mentioned under the Heads of Trade, I humbly propose,

*Remedies
for the
Grievances
of Trade.*

1. That sufficient Care be taken to establish an Equal Liberty of Trade in all the Plantations on the Continent of America, as well the Proprieties as the King's Colonies, and that the Inhabitants of all the Plantations be obliged to buy and sell by the same Weights and Measures; in which several Abuses have been complained of in some Places.

*Equal Li-
berty of
Trade in all
the Plan-
tations.*

And here I must beg leave [with all Submission and Deference imaginable to that great and Illustrious Council of the Nation] to say, that some of the present Acts of Parliament relating to

*Some Acts
of Parlia-
ment about
Trade not
well calcu-
lated.*

the Plantation Trade, seem to be faulty in the Contrivance of them; for they are mostly calculated for all the Plantations in general, whereas the different Circumstances of the several Places make many particular Provisions necessary for some Colonies, which are not so in others: This I presume to mention not as an Instance of Neglect or Mismanagement, but as an Argument, that it is necessary the Court of *England* should be better acquainted with the true State of the Plantations, than hitherto they have been.

*Standard
of Coin.*

2. That one certain Standard for all sorts of Coin be settled in all the Plantations on the Continent, which Standard I humbly conceive should be as near the Intrinsick Value of *Sterk* as may be.

But here perhaps it will be objected, that bringing the Standard of Money to the Intrinsick Value, will be very injurious to Proprieties, who have always set a higher Value upon their Money: And that,

These

These Plantations are in great Want of Money, and the readiest way to make it plenty among them, is to enhance the Value. To the first of these Objections I answer: That tho' indeed we ought as near as may be, to accommodate all Laws, and other publick Transactions, to the Interest of every Individual Party concerned; yet when some must suffer, it is reasonable to steer that Course which seems most equitable, and hath the greatest Tendency towards the Welfare of the Whole. And if it appears to be the Interest of *England* and the Plantations, [taken generally together,] as well hereafter as at present to ascertain the Standard of Coin as near as may be to the Intrinsick *Sterl.* Value, then I think this Objection will be sufficiently answered.

2. To the second Objection I answer, that it is probable, enhancing the Value of Coin may bring in Money for the present; but what will be the Consequences of that? Will it not confound the Method of our Trade? Will it not destroy our Exchange? and how many, and how great Evils will follow

low upon that, no one can I think pretend to foresee. 'Tis possible many Arguments may be drawn from the present Necessity, and it may be urged, that extraordinary Diseases must have the like Cures: But I cannot perceive the Weight of such an Allegation, nor can I apprehend the Advantages that may be proposed: We here are but a handful of People; and have no other Trade; but plain Barter between *England* and us, and amongst our Neighbouring Plantations, and certainly the best way for us, must be to keep the Standard of our Coin, which is the Measure of Trade and Traffick, as near as may be, to equal the Real Value set upon it by the Prudence of our Common Mother, lest by making Alterations in it, we give Opportunity to some sharp *English* Merchants to put such Tricks upon us, as we cannot foresee; they have great Advantages of us, if their Inclinations tend that way; they are skilful in Trade and Exchange, which we cannot pretend to; they have much the larger Purfes, and can outdo us at any thing, whenever they please; and besides all this, they have daily Opportunities of looking abroad in the World, and may have

have many Prospects of Advantage, which we that are shut up in America know nothing of.

For a further Answer to both these Objections, I beg leave to offer the following Particulars to Consideration. Reasons for settling the Standard of Coin.

1. That it is not necessary for the Plantations to have more Money, than just so much as is sufficient to manage their Trade; and that, they will have in a few Years, when Trade and the Coin is settled upon an Equal Foot.

2. That it is not expedient for *England* to give the Plantations Opportunities of laying up great Banks of Treasure among themselves.

3. That if enhancing the Value of Coin, should bring great quantities of it into these Northern Plantations, more than the carrying on of Trade requires, it would be just so much Loss to *England*; for none can come hither, but that which otherwise would have gone thither.

That

4. That the Difference of Coin would cause great Difficulties in making up Accounts of publick Revenues, and give great Opportunities of defrauding the King of the Exchange.

5. It would be very discouraging to all Officers in the Colonies, who have certain yearly Salaries established, especially Governours and Lieutenant-Governours, for they could not possibly remit any Money to *England*, for their necessary Occasions, without great loss by the Exchange.

'Tis true, these two last mentioned Inconveniencies may be remedied, but not without more than ordinary Trouble.

*Pirates to
be suppressed.*

3. In the next place, I humbly propose, that all possible means be used to suppress Pirates and Sea-Rovers in these Parts of the World.

And perhaps no way will be more effectual to that End, than a Proclamation of general Pardon for all that will submit in so many Months, and to keep three

three or four of the new fifth Rate Frigates along this Coast, and let a good Reward be established by Law in the Plantations, for every one that shall apprehend a Pyrate, and if one would discover and convict the other, let him have his Pardon, and the Reward also; and if besides all this, they be terrified in the *East Indies* with about twelve or fourteen good Ships of War, doubtless most, if not all of them, will be glad to come in and accept of their Pardons.

4. If it might be done without the Imputation of too much Presumption, I would humbly propose, That for the Encouragement of the Tobacco-Planters, [the most beneficial Slaves that pay Obedience to the Crown of *England*,] his Majesty and the Parliament would be pleased to enact, That for the future, the great Duties upon Tobacco, might be paid in the same manner as was usual before the late Act, by which his Majesties Revenues would not be lessened; and yet the Planters greatly eased.

The Customs on Tobacco to be paid as formerly.

4. In

*Remedy for
the Grie-
vance of
want of
People.*

4. In part to remedy the Grievances mentioned under the fourth Head, Of want of People in these Plantations.

*Strangers
to be encour-
aged.*

It is humbly proposed, 1. That all necessary Encouragement be given to Strangers to come hither, and to this End perhaps it may be necessary to revise the late Act of Parliament prohibiting Strangers to buy Land, &c. in the Plantations, and upon this Subject many Particulars are worthy Consideration, which cannot well be incerted here.

But tho' I would have Strangers encouraged to come amongst us, yet I would not have them seated in particular Towns or Parts of Provinces by themselves; but they should be dispersed amongst the other People, that by Marriages and other Obligations of Interest, they may be bound to study the Welfare of the Place of their Habitation.

*Small Of-
fenders to
be sent to*

2. That all Persons convicted of small Offences in *England*, be sent to these

these Plantations: By small Offences I ^{the Plan-}
mean Petty Larcenies, and all other ^{tations.}
such Offences as are generally punish'd
with Whipping or the Pillory, [except
for Forgery;] and also such dissolute idle
Persons as generally are punish'd with the
House of Correction; but they should
be sent hither upon the first Convicti-
on, before they grow hardened in their
Wickedness.

To this it may be objected, 1. That ^{Objections}
these People of evil Lives and Con- ^{against}
versations, will be apt to stir up the ^{this,}
Slaves and Servants, who being very
numerous, may make a dangerous Re-
bellion against the Government.

2. That such People will very much
destroy Morality in the Plantations.

3. That the idle Vagabonds may be
employed in Workhouses at home, to
better Advantage than they can be sent
abroad.

To all which I answer, 1. That the ^{Answer to}
Servants and Slaves are not so nume- ^{these Obje-}
rous on the Continent: In the Islands ^{tions.}
it is true, there may be danger; but in
these

these parts it is not very difficult to contrive such Laws against Servants and Slaves, wandring from their Masters Plantations without Leave, as will effectually preserve the Government against any Insurrections, that such People will be able to make, especially if those Laws be well executed.

2. That in these Parts they will not have Opportunity to pilfer and steal as they have in *England*; there it is easy to turn every thing immediately into Money, here they cannot do so, but it must be detected; neither can they find Things to steal here, so easily as they may there; and it is to be remembred, that there many People are forced oftentimes to steal that they may not starve; for they cannot get an Employment to live by: Here the Case is quite otherwise, for every one that will, may always live by his Labour, and need never sit idle.

And for the prevention of all other kind of Immorality, as Fornication, Drunkenness, &c. the Laws in those Cases provided, may be much more easily

sily put in execution here, than in *England*; and that it is possible to reform the most vitious Persons, by good Laws well executed, I presume, no one will doubt that considers the History of the old *Romans*, who from the vilest and most wicked People living, by good Laws became the most Virtuous that ever were.

But let us reckon at the worst, suppose these People should continue their Wicked Inclinations, it is plain, they cannot put their evil Desires in Practice, so that at the most, they can be but intentionally ill, and they may have many good Children, that may be of great Service; whereas if they were let alone in *England*, after scandalous and vitious Lives, they must almost of necessity come to shameful Deaths.

3. It is most certain, that *England* hath never yet employed the idle Vagabonds at home in Work-houses, to any purpose, till very lately, and that but in some few Places; nor perhaps is it possible, they ever can do it throughout the whole Kingdom; for there is a vast difference in the Cir-

cumstances relating to this particular Affair between *England* and *Holland*, which is so often proposed for a Pattern to be imitated.

The *Dutch* have but a small Space of Territory, and consequently but few poor; and being a place of extraordinary Trade, have many Manufactures set up amongst them, and these things employ their Poor; but *England* is a large Tract of Countrey, many Poor in it, and not near so many Manufactures in proportion as in *Holland*, and consequently not so much Work for the Poor; from whence it will follow, that the Poor cannot all be set to work, so as to maintain the Charge of themselves and their Work-houses; and if the Employers must be Losers, those Work-houses will never be built, neither will all the Poor in *England* ever be employ'd.

Since then it seems reasonable to believe, that those People cannot be employed at home, why should they not be sent to the Plantations, where they will certainly be beneficial, and *England*

land eased of the Burthen of maintaining so many useless People.

For the better and more certain and expeditious transporting these People hither, some small public Stock may be settled to begin it, and afterwards it would bear its own Charge, for they might be sold here as Servants for more Money than their Transportation would cost.

5. To redress the Grievances that one Plantation may suffer by another, ^{Remedy of Grievances that one Plantation is to another.} some Things have been already proposed under the Head of Trade; as particularly, the Setling an equal Liberty of Trade, and the same Standard of Coin throughout all the *English* Plantations on the Continent; the Reasonableness of which, I suppose, is already so clearly evinced, that I think it needless to say any thing more to it here.

For a further Redress to these Grievances, it is humbly proposed, That by some General Law, to be binding to all the Colonies on the Continent, a certain Method be established, 1. To de-

cide all Controversies between Colony and Colony. 2. To bring Persons to condign Punishment, who commit Offences against the Laws of one Colony, and then fly into another, or who living in one Colony, go into another, and commit Offences, and then return to their own Habitations. 3. To compel Fugitive Debtors to pay their just Debts, and run-away Servants and Slaves, to be returned to their Masters living in other Colonies. 4. To adjust all Disputes concerning Trade or Commerce in the several Colonies, and all other Matters whatsoever relating to the general Benefit of them all.

*General
Assembly of
all the Pro-
vinces pro-
posed by the
Author of
the Essay on
Ways and
Means.*

And here I must beg leave to take notice of a Scheme, for the General good Government of these Northern Plantations, set down in the aforementioned Discourses of the Publick Revenues, &c. Part 2d. Page 259. which Scheme with some little Alteration [the Government of the Colonies being rightly constituted] will perhaps prove the most effectual Remedy for all Grievances of this Nature, that can be proposed; but under the present Management, or whilst so many Colonies are go-

governed by Proprietors, perhaps nothing can be proposed more prejudicial to the Interest of *England*.

The first Contriver of that Scheme was a Person not well acquainted with the State of every particular Colony here, and therefore no wonder if he hath committed an Error, in proposing an equal number of Deputies for the several Provinces, when they are so vastly different, for numbers of People, extent of Territory, and of the Value of them in their Trade, especially that to *Europe*.

Therefore with submission I conceive, that thole Deputies would be more equally proportion'd in manner following, viz. *Virginia* four, *Mary-Land* three, *New-York* two, *Boston* three, *Connecticut* two, *Rhode Island* two, *Pensylvania* one, the two *Carolina's* one, each of the two *Fersey's* one.

And as angry as the Gentleman seems to be with *Virginia*, I think he cannot find fault with allowing one Deputy more for that, than for any of the rest, because it hath the most Inhabitants, is

the eldest and most profitable of all the *English* Plantations in *America*; and if at such a Convention, we should pretend to take place of all our Neighbours, perhaps they may not give any good Reason to the contrary.

It is there proposed that these Deputies may always meet at *New-York*, and that the Chief Governour there for the time being, shall preside as High Commissioner amongst them; this was well designed no doubt by the Proposer: But under favour I presume it would be much more convenient and useful too, if they met by turns, sometimes in one Province, and sometimes in another; and the chief Governour in the Province where they meet, being commissioned by his Majesty, may preside as Commissioner in manner aforementioned.

The Court of the *Amphictiones*, in Imitation of which this is proposed, did not always meet in one place, but sometimes at *Pylæ*, and sometimes at *Delphi*, and without question there were a great many Reasons for their so doing; but in this Case I conceive there are more.

I. It

1. It is necessary that those Deputies should be well acquainted with the true State of the whole Continent, which at present they know little of, and no way more proper to instruct them in it, than by holding these Conventions, sometimes at one place, and sometimes at another; which in time would make the most considerable Persons of every Province, become personally acquainted; for the better sort of People would look upon it as a piece of Gentile Education, to let their Sons go in Company of the Deputies of the Province to these Conventions.

2. It seems a little unreasonable, that the Province of *New-York*, and consequently the Governour thereof for the time being, should be so much advanced in Dignity above the rest of the Colonies and their Governours; some of the other are more considerable, the Governments more valuable, are more immediately depending upon the King, and by far the more profitable to *England*.

3. It is unequal that *New-York* should have such an Opportunity of drawing

so much Money to it every Year from all the other Colonies.

To obviate these and many other Objections of this nature which may be made, it is humbly proposed, That the whole Continent be divided into five Circuits or Divisions, thus, 1. *Virginia*. 2. *Mary-land*. 3. *Pensylvania*, and the two *Fersey's*. 4. *New-York*. 5. *Boston, Connecticut, and Rhode Island*; in each of which Divisions, let it be held by turns one after another, in a certain Order.

*Remedy of
the Grie-
vances
from the
Governours.*

4. The next general Head is as much as may be to remedy the Grievances that may happen to the Plantations by their Governours.

Under the Head of Laws it is already proposed, That the last Resort of Justice in any Province, may not be to the chief Governour there; the Reason is plain, to wit, it is very dangerous to establish any Judicature, which cannot be called to Account for male-administrations; and that the Governours of the Plantations are so, is already made appear in the Grievances before complained of under this Head.

For

For the better Regulation and Ma-
 nagement of these Plantations, it is hum-
 bly proposed, That the Government of
 them all may be annexed to the Crown
 by Act of Parliament, for without that,
 it will be impossible to keep them upon
 an equal Foot; but some Tricks or other
 will be plaid by the Charter Govern-
 ments, let their Pretentions be never so
 fair. Without question *New-England* Men
 pretend, that they would not entertain
 Pyrates upon any account in the World,
 and yet it is observable, that tho' they
 have long used those Parts, none of them
 have been taken till of late, since the
 Government of the *Earl of Bellamont*,
 who may properly be called the first Go-
 vernour of the *English* Interest in that
 Province.

The Go-
 vernment
 of all the
 Plantati-
 ons to be
 annexed to
 the Crown.

I am not ignorant that many Persons
 whose Interests are concerned, will look
 upon this as a very unjust Proposition,
 and object the great Injustice of such an
 Action, as very much tending to the De-
 struction of Property, and the like; to
 all which I shall make but little Answer,
 and that in this manner.

That

That in the beginning, *Virginia* was planted by a Company, who had a Charter for their so doing; and afterwards [the good of the whole so requiring] not only the Government, but the very Property of the Land was taken into the King's Hands, and so remains at this Day.

The Government of *Mary-Land*, is now in the King's Hands, and yet the Lord *Baltimore* enjoys his Property in the Land as he did heretofore, and not only so, but all other Revenues that were settled on him by the Assembly of that Province.

The Government of *New-England*, is now in the King's Hands; and if the Publick Welfare required it, why should not the Proprieties of *Pensylvania*, the *Jersy's*, and the *Carolina's* be likewise governed in the same manner?

2. The Propriety of the Soil may remain to the Proprietor, as heretofore, and need not be prejudiced by the King's appointing Governours in those Parts: And if this be not satisfactory, but they still pretend to have the Governments intirely in their own Hands, I beg leave to admonish

monish them to consult with their Coun-
cellours at Law, how far the King hath
Power to grant the Supream Govern-
ment of the Plantations; to any Person
or Persons, and their Heirs, without the
assent of the Parliament.

I shall say no more to this Point at pre-
sent; tho it may very reasonably be ur-
ged, that in times of Danger, *England*
must be at the Charge to defend them
all, which cannot well be done without
taking the Government.

That it is necessary for all the Colo-
nies to be united under one Head, for
their common Defence; and that it will
be much more so, if the *French*, or any
other Nation, possess themselves of the
River *Messachippe*, and the Lakes to
the West-ward.

That in case of a War with *Spain*, no-
thing could tend more to the Advantage
of *England*, than having all these Colo-
nies under the Crown, to give such
Assistance as should be necessary towards
any Design upon the *West-Indies*, which
would never be done by the Proprieties,

un-

unless they saw some extraordinary private Advantage by it.

I say, all these Considerations may reasonably be urged, but Time permits me not to examine them at present.

Representations in England of the State of the Plantations.

A true Representation in *England* of the State of Affairs in the Colonies, would very much conduce to the keeping of the Governours in good order, or at least from notorious Transgressions, for fear of being complained of at Home; therefore with Submission, I shall by and by propose such Methods, as seem most feasible to procure such Representations to be made.

Against Governours engrossing Offices, Bribery, &c.

It hath already been complained of, as a Grievance, that sometimes Governours do engross into their own Hands several Offices, and others they let out for such a part of the yearly Profits: And for the prevention of the like Practices, and of all sorts of Bribery, Extortion, and other Misdemeanours, for the future, perhaps no Method will prove more effectual than by laying severe Injunctions upon the King's Governours, that they do not presume to keep any
Place

Place vacant, more than such a space of Time as shall be thought requisite, and that they do not take any manner of Présent or Gratuity for the bestowing of any Office; that they do not upon any Pretence whatsoever take any manner of Gift, Reward, or Perquisite; that they be not any ways concerned in Trade.

And that none of the Governours may pretend a necessity of minding something besides their Offices, to get their Living by, their Salaries may be so much enlarged, as will make them sufficient for their Maintenance, and to spare.

Encouragements to Governours to behave themselves well.

For a farther Encouragement to them to behave themselves well in their Governments, it seems reasonable to contrive it in such manner for the Future, that such good Behaviour may recommend them to farther Rewards at Home, [and not that these Governments be given as formerly, for Rewards of past Services, and so the Governours be obliged to make the best of it they can, because they expect nothing to come after.] To this end it may perhaps be

be found convenient, to provide that hereafter all Governours behaving themselves well in the Plantations, and having been there above three years, shall obtain the King's leave to resign, without any Mismanagements laid to their Charge, may have a yearly Pension allowed them, [after their return Home] of a fourth part of the value of the Established Salary in the Governments they left, which Pensions should be duly paid, till some other Preferments were bestowed on them, to the value thereof : And if after all these Encouragements, any Governour dare offend, let him fall without Mercy.

The King and Court of England unacquainted with the State of the Plantations.

7. The last and greatest Grievance I mentioned, is, that the King and Court of *England* are very much unacquainted with the true State of Affairs in the *American* Plantations, for the Redress whereof it is humbly proposed.

Remedy for this Grievance.

1. That every Colony have an Agent constantly residing in *England*, to give an account from time to time, as he shall be thereto required, of all the Affairs and Transactions of the Plantation he is authorised by ; and lest this Agent be

cor-

corrupted and wrought upon, to give wrong Informations, as a check upon him,

2. Let one Person be commissioned from *England*, to travel through all the Plantations, to make enquiry into, and give a true Representation of the State of their Affairs; and these two Persons being Checks one upon the other, would both of them be obliged to speak the Truth.

That this last Proposition may be the better understood; I beg leave to set it down somewhat more particularly.

1. Let one Person, thereunto commissioned by his Majesty, travel through all the Colonies on the Continent.

And the better to enable him to do Service, let him have Power to sit in the Councils of every Colony where he comes: Let him have free access to all Records, Council-Books, Publick Accounts, and all other Books and Papers relating to the Government, or any Office of Trust, or Profit. Let him have Authority to inquire into, and examine the State of all

all the Colonies where he comes; and for his better Guidance and Direction herein, a Scheme of material and pertinent Queries may be drawn up and given him; as particularly to enquire 1. Concerning the Legislature in the Plantations, In whom it is invested, What Powers they have, What their Priviledges, Methods of Proceedings, And how often they are conven'd.

2. Concerning the Civil Government; What the Governours Power? What the Councils? How many of them there are? How they are made? What Offices they hold, and what Value those Offices are of? &c.

3. Concerning the public Offices of the Government; How many there are? Of what Value? In whose Gift? How executed? What Estates they have in them?

4. Concerning the *Militia*; What numbers of them? How armed? How commanded? In how long time they may be ready for service?

5. Con-

5. Concerning the *Indians*; How many Nations are tributary to the Crown of *England*? What their Number and Strength? Where situate? What *Indian* Enemies most dangerous? What Trade with them may be most profitable? What the best Method of Defence against them?

6. Concerning Courts of Justice; How many there are? Where held? Who Judges? What their Jurisdiction? What Commissions they have? How Justice is administred? How long Causes are generally depending?

7. Concerning the Revenue; What particular Branches there are? How Collected? What the Charge of Collection? Who keeps the Public Money in Bank? How much every particular Branch brings in, and to what Uses applied? What Money in Bank? Or, what Debts, and how contracted?

8. Concerning Religion; What Religion most numerous? What established by Law? What number of the Church of

Eng-

England? What Provision made for the Clergy? What Ecclesiastick Authority?

9. Concerning Works of Piety and Charity; What Foundations for Learning? What Maintenance for Poor? By whom founded? By what Authority? How endowed? How the Primitive Institutions are observed?

10. Concerning Trade; What the Product of the Countrey for Exportation? Whither carried? What usually imported, and from whence? What Ports? What Towns? What their Privileges? How governed? What Manufactures? Whither carried? What number of Ships and Vessels? What Trade they are imployed in? How the Trade is managed? Whether by Money or Barter?

11. Concerning Money; How plenty Money is? What Coin most current? At what Value? What the Exchange of remitting Money to *England*?

12. Con-

12. Concerning Grievances; What the greatest Grievances? What the Cause of them? How they may be redressed?

I might add many more Queries, as concerning the number of People, the Value of Lands, the Scituation of Places, the Conveniencies of Offence or Defence, the King's Rents, the Proprietors Interest, the Wealth of the Inhabitants, &c. But I purposely omit them for Brevity sake, the Particulars before mentioned, being sufficient to make the Method clearly apprehended.

These Queries [together with such other as shall be thought necessary,] being proposed in the Plantations to the Governours, Councils, General Assemblies, Courts of Judicature, Lawyers, Clerks, Clergymen, Magistrates, Merchants, &c. their Answers will give a great Light into the true State of Affairs in these Parts; and also such a Persons own Observations might be of great Use, if carefully made

And

And that no one may be fearful to answer the Truth to the aforementioned Queries, let both Queries and Answers be kept secret, till they are laid before the Commissioners of Trade in *England*, and if they find any thing material, let them send Orders for a more particular Inquiry, and let Care betaken, that no Man suffer for speaking the Truth in these Cases.

The main Thing in this Proposition to be consider'd, is, whether the Advantage of it will be greater than the Charge, for such Inquiries cannot be made without some Charge, tho' that need not be much; if a very great Man be employed in such a Service, then indeed the Cost will be great also; but if one that is not above the Business, who will be active and industrious, be employed, a Salary of five hundred Pounds a Year, [with an Allowance of ten Shillings a Day, whilst he is travelling from Place to Place] will be sufficient; if he behave himself well, he will be thereby recommended to further Favour at his Return home; if

if otherwise, that is more than he deserves.

And perhaps it may not be convenient to let any one enjoy this Office above five Years, and so as one returns, another may be sent.

Now if this Commissioner be obliged to give the best Account he can, of the State of those Colonies through which he travels, if the several Governours be directed to represent the State of their respective Provinces, if the Convention of the whole Continent aforementioned, remonstrate the Affairs of them all, and if the Agents of every Colony residing in *England*, be required from time to time, to give a true and impartial Relation of the Constitutions and Transactions of their respective Colonies; I say, if all these Persons be obliged to give their several Representations of the State of these Colonies, it is reasonable to believe, they will be necessitated both to enquire after, and to represent the Truth, lest they contradict one another.

By

By these means it is probable, the King and Court of *England* may be made thoroughly sensible of the true State of Affairs in this remote Part of the World, which it is presum'd, will be the first and greatest Step towards remedying any former Mismanagements.



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